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ABSTRACT

This essay focuses on southern West Virginia between 1915 and 1932 to explore the dynamics of Afro-American work and community life in the Appalachian region. More specifically, it analyzes the rise and expansion of the black coal mining proletariat, the role of black men and women in the process, and the impact of the proletarianization on black economic life in coal mining towns. The emergence of the black coal mining proletariat was an exceedingly complex process. It was deeply rooted in the imperatives of black life in the rural South, as well as the dynamics of industrial capitalism in the coal fields. Coal demands and production increased during and after World War I, leading to a sharp rise in the number of black men entering the mining labor force. Through their Southern kin and friendship networks, black coal miners played a crucial role in organizing their own migration to the region, facilitating their own entrance into the industrial labor force. The volatile nature of black coal mining employment also required substantial contributions from black women. These included child-rearing, gardening, canning, and small-scale home farming, along with the regular domestic tasks. In 1920, when 19.8% of black women were gainfully employed, only 10.8% of the American-born white women and fewer foreign-born women were so employed. This document quotes numerous primary sources and contains 26 end notes. (TES)

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"The Social Dynamics of Color, Class, and Gender: Afro-American Work and Community in the Southern West Virginia Coal Fields, 1915-1932"

1988 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association

Cincinnati, Ohio

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Focusing on Southern West Virginia between 1915 and 1932, this essay explores the dynamics of Afro-American work and community life in the Appalachian region. More specifically, it analyzes the rise and expansion of the black coal mining proletariat; the role of black men and women in the process; and the impact of proletarianization on black economic life in coal mining towns. The emergence of the black coal mining proletariat, I will argue, was an exceedingly complex process. It was deeply rooted in the imperatives of black life in the rural South, as well as the dynamics of industrial capitalism in the coal fields.

In their recruitment, retention, and discipline of black labor, for example, coal operators employed a complicated blend of legal and extralegal measures, reinforced by the racial attitudes and practices of white workers and the state. Conversely, using their intricate network of family and friends, black men and women played a pivotal role in their own industrial transformation. Unlike black men, however, black women registered their important contributions against the extraordinary odds of class, race, and sex discrimination. Nonetheless, within the hostile racial environment of Southern West Virginia, black men and women expressed their class and gender interests in essentially racial terms. In order to understand the maturation of these processes during World War I and its aftermath, a brief

assessment of the prewar era is indispensable.

Like the industrial magnates of the North, between 1880 and World War I, coal companies recruited workers from a wide-range of national and international sources of labor.[1] Unlike the urban-industrial North, however, where blacks were excluded from the burgeoning industrial sector, from the beginning coal operators employed Southern ex-slaves, American-born or "native whites," and European immigrants in the expanding bituminous labor force.[2] Mainly from South, Central, and Eastern Europe, immigrants increased from less than 2 percent of the population in 1880 to 6 percent in 1910, while the black population increased from 4,800 in 1880 to over 40,000 in 1910. With few blacks before 1880, by 1910 the black population had reached nearly 14 percent, more than twice the percentage of immigrants. In order to cut costs and keep wages down, as economic and labor historians note, the coal operators preferred a "mixed labor force."[3]

Although the black proletariat had roots in the prewar era, it gained its fullest development during World War I and its aftermath. Under the acute labor demands of World War I and the 1920s, black coal miners continued their dramatic surge forward, doubling their prewar numbers. Under the impact of World War I, coal production in Southern West Virginia increased from nearly 37 million tons in 1910 to 57 million tons in 1916. Following a postwar decline, production increased to 122 million tons in 1925, about 70 percent of the state's total output.

Spurred by the war and postwar labor demands of the bituminous coal industry, the black population increased by nearly 100 percent, from just over 40,000 in 1910 to nearly 80,000 in 1930. At the same time, the black coal mining proletariat increased from 11,000 in 1915; to 16,500 in 1917; and to an estimated 20,000 by 1930. More importantly, black workers increased from 20 to over 26 percent of the labor force, as immigrants declined from 31 to 12 percent.[4]

Migration from other Southern states was the major source of black population growth. Between World War I and 1930, nearly 60 percent of West Virginia blacks were born in other states. Unlike the Great Migration of blacks to Northern industrial centers, as in the prewar years, most entered the state from neighboring Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. Led by Virginia with over 27

percent, in 1930 blacks from the Upper South states made up nearly 40 percent of the state's total, followed by the Deep South states of Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Mississippi. Among all contributing states, however, the Deep South state of Alabama was second only to Virginia; it made up over nine percent of West Virginia blacks in 1930.

Like black migrants elsewhere in industrial America, the majority were young men between the primary working ages of 20 and 44. Although the black sex ratio evened out over time, as did the white ratio, substantial imbalance continued into the 1920s: 145.0, 1910; 124.9, 1920; and 114.0, 1930. As the sex ratio suggests, coal mining was an overwhelmingly male occupation with few opportunities for female employment outside the home.[5] Yet, as we will see, black women would not only play a key role in the expansion of the black industrial working class, they would also play a crucial role in the economic life of blacks in coal mining towns.

Most blacks came to West Virginia from agricultural backgrounds, where Southern black sharecroppers, farm laborers, and semi-industrial workers found it increasingly difficult to make ends meet. In 1916, Thorton Wright's family moved to Accoville, Logan county from a sharecropping experience in Montgomery, Alabama. In 1921, Watt Teal's family abandoned cotton farming in Wadesboro, North Carolina, and moved to Kimball, McDowell county. Another black miner

moved his family from North Carolina to McDowell county, his daughter tersely recalled, "because he got tired of farming."[6]

When the labor demands of the bituminous coal industry intersected with the boll weevil and destructive storms on Southern farms, hundreds of black sharecroppers and farm laborers were eager to leave. Under such conditions, some white landowners eased their tenacious grip on the farm labor force and helped to stimulate out-migration. In a revealing letter to the U. S. Department of Justice, Alexander D. Pitts, U. S. Attorney for the southern district of Alabama, explained: "There is great reason for the negroes leaving this part of the country. . . . in 1914 the cotton crop in Dallas county amounted to 64,700 bales; in 1916 . . . there are not five thousand bales in the entire county. . . . you can readily see that the negroes have nothing to eat. . . and they are emigrating."[7]

Despite postwar wage cuts, during the mid-1920s, black miners averaged $3.20 to $5.00 and even more per 8-hour day. Black workers earned a maximum of $2.50 per 9-hour day in Southern industry, and as little as seventy-five cents to one dollar per day as farm laborers. It is no wonder, as one migrant recalled, some blacks moved to Southern West Virginia, when "they heard that money was growing on trees."[8]

Despite the influence of such powerful socioeconomic push and pull forces, the growth of the black proletariat was a dynamic process, involving the initiative of black workers themselves. A Union Springs, Alabama black migrant wrote from Holden, Logan county, "I make $80 to $90 per mo. with ease and wish you all much success. Hello to all the people of my home town. I am saving my money and spending some of it." In a detailed letter to his friend, W. L. McMillan, another Alabama migrant wrote back from Omar, Logan county that, "You can make 1 dollar heaire quicker than you can 20 ct theaire in Alla. . . . Now I must close with this understanding to you The Half havern yet ben told. But what I said to you is true fack." Moreover, in his letter McMillan enclosed a flyer announcing a political rally, bearing the bold captions, "Republican Speaking - Mr. Colored Man Come Out And Bring Your Friends To Hear." "Now lisen," McMillan concluded, "I will vote for the president on the 11 of this mont Collered man tick[e]t stands just as good as white man heare."[9]

Indeed, important social, cultural, and political factors reinforced the attractiveness of West Virginia as a target of black migrants. Racial lynchings were fewer; educational opportunities were greater; and voting was not restricted by race as elsewhere in the South. Although it frequently overstated the case, during the 1920s, the Bureau

of Negro Welfare and Statistics (BNWS), a state agency, repeatedly emphasized the political and social attractions of West Virginia: "His political rights . . . and educational advantages in West Virginia make a strong appeal to the Negro's sense of justice and fair play."[10]

Despite their optimistic portrayals of Southern West Virginia mines, a substantial degree of private and public coercion confronted black labor. Operators often advanced the migrants transportation fees, housing, and credit at the company store. Using privately employed Baldwin-Felts detectives, some coal operators were notorious for their violent control of black workers. During the war years, one black miner recalled, "I can show you scars on my head which were put in there by the Baldwin-Felts men in 1917. There was four of them jumped me until they thought me dead, but I didn't die. They kicked two or three ribs loose - - two or three of them - - on Cabin Creek."[11]

In 1922, when black men, apparently from Danville, Virginia, wrote back home describing violations of their civil rights at Omar, Logan county, their Southern relatives appealed to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to investigate living and working conditions in the town. As late as 1928, officials of the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) testified before the U. S. Coal Commission that some black men continued to face coercive

measures designed to keep them in the mines. "These colored men - these poor boys - are now kept in a veritable state of peonage. They are kept on the property by sheer force of the private police."[12] State and local law enforcement officials invariably reinforced the operators' control over their labor force, especially black workers.

Although some black miners experienced the impact of public and private coercion, most chose Southern West Virginia on their own and used their network of kin and friends to get them there. In his investigation of the great migration, the U. S. attorney for the southern district of Alabama reported that at least ten percent of those who had left had returned, but half of the returnees had come back for relatives and friends. "It is the returned negroes who carry others off."[13]

Coal companies soon recognized the recruitment potential of black kin and friendship networks. They increasingly hired black miners to recruit among relatives and friends. During World War I, the Rum Creek Collieries Company hired Scotty Todd as a labor recruiter. On one trip back to Alabama, the company gave Todd enough money to bring 50 men to West Virginia. Several relatives and friends returned to the state with Scotty Todd, including his younger brother Roy. At Hollow Creek, McDowell county, the company added a second and then a third shift. One newcomer asked why;

although highly paternalistic, the superintendent's reply revealed the familial pattern of black migration: "If you stop bringing all your uncles and...aunts and cousins up here we wouldn't have to do that. We got to make somewhere for them to work. . . . They can't all work on day shift. They can't all work on evening shift."[14]

As noted above, coal mining was an overwhelmingly male occupation, with few opportunities for black women outside the home. Yet, as in the black migration to other areas of industrial America, black women played a crucial role in the black migration to Southern West Virginia. At each step of the migration process, the hazards, risks, and sacrifices of black women were apparent. Before migrating to Southern West Virginia, Catherine Phillips had married John Henry in rural western Virginia. While her husband worked in a nearby sawmill, Catherine gave birth to at least three of the couple's eight children; raised crops for home consumption; and conducted the regular household chores of cleaning, cooking, washing, and ironing. In 1917, Catherine took care of the family for several months, while John Henry travelled to Southern West Virginia; worked in the coal mines; and finally returned for her and the children. Mary Jane Spann married Andrew Campbell in Statesville, North Carolina, before moving to Maybeury, McDowell county during the war years. She had worked as a farm laborer for 25 cents per

day; helped Andrew sharecrop the land; and delivered two of their six children.[15]

More than a decade before the family moved to Southern West Virginia, Nannie Bolling married Sam Beasley in rural North Carolina. She took care of the couple's four children, while Sam travelled to Gary, McDowell county, worked in the mines for several pay periods, and then returned for his family. In a family group, including her husband, four children, and one grandparent, Vallier Henderson travelled from Jefferson county, Alabama to McDowell county during World War I. In a party of three Alabama families, along with their household furnishings, the trip took nearly seven days by rail. Upon reaching McDowell county, the families made a time-consuming and arduous horse and wagon trip into the mountains of Coalwood, McDowell county.[16]

In the migration and resettlement of themselves and their families in Southern West Virginia, like black men, some single and widowed black women had compelling reasons for leaving the South. In 1916, following her husband's death, Lanie Wright found it impossible to continue sharecropping in Alabama, depending heavily upon the labor of her young children. In search of domestic service employment, a peculiarly difficult undertaking in Southern West Virginia, she moved her three boys and two girls to Logan county, where she soon moved about from place to place

in search of suitable work. According to the recollections of her son, until she married a coal miner some years later, life for her and the family was unusually difficult.[17] Desiring to hold their families together; escape rural poverty; and gain greater control over their destinies, black women like Lanie Wright had their own reasons for moving to Southern West Virginia. These women faced the most telling hardships, not only prior to leaving Southern farms, but also upon arrival in the coal fields.[18]

Unlike Lanie Wright most black women entered the coal fields in family units involving black coal miners.[19] Like most of their white counterparts, black men entered the mines primarily as unskilled coal loaders. They worked mainly in underground positions, called "inside labor," as opposed to outside or surface work. In 1922 and again in 1927, the BNWS reported that more than 90 percent of black miners worked as manual coal loaders or as common day laborers. During the late 1920s and early '30s, over 75 percent of black miners continued to work in such positions.[20]

Unfortunately, despite their growing importance in the labor force, the experiences of black miners reflected sharp fluctuations in the bituminous coal market. The number and percentage of black miners dramatically expanded during World War I; dropped during the postwar economic slump of 1919-22;

rose during the mid-1920s; and dropped again under the onslaught of the Great Depression. Black coal miners decreased from nearly 16,500, 25.9 percent of the total labor force, during the war years to less than 15,200 or 24.1 percent of all miners in 1919. Following the economic recovery of the mid-1920s, their numbers dropped from over 20,200 in 1925; to 19,600 in 1929; and to 18,500 in 1931, although fluctuating only slightly between 26 and 27 percent of the labor force.[21]

The volatile nature of black coal mining employment required substantial contributions from black women. Along with their regular domestic tasks, working class black women nearly universally tended gardens. Although the men and boys cleared and broke the ground, black women and children played a key role in the planting, cultivating, harvesting, and canning of the produce: corn, beans, cabbage, collard and turnip greens, supplemented by a few hogs, chickens, and sometimes a cow. Although usually on a small-scale, through gardening black women supplemented the family's diet.

Gardening not only nourished the bodies of black men, women, and children, it also helped them to maintain links with their rural past. The pattern soon became deeply entrenched in the economic and cultural traditions of the region. Not yet 11 years old, while confined to a local hospital bed, a young black female penned her first poem,

illuminating the role of black women in the life of the coal fields:

> When I get [to be] an old lady,
> I tell you what I'll do,
> I'll patch my apron, make my dress
> And hoe the garden too.[22]

While black women maintained gardens and worked mainly in the home, compared to their white counterparts, they also had a higher rate of wage earning domestic service employment in and outside the home. Based on state-wide data, in 1920 when 19.8 percent of black women were gainfully employed, only 10.8 percent of American born white women, 15.5 percent of American born white women of foreign or mixed parentage, and merely 8.2 percent of immigrant women were so employed. Although the coal fields offered few domestic service jobs, a substantial number of black women sought such employment, especially when tradgedies struck the male bread winners. Recalling her mother's experience during the 1920s, Margaret Moorman opined: "No matter how poor white people are, they can always find a little change to hire a black woman in their home and she did that, she would work occasionally for some of the bosses."[23]

Although some black women worked for coal company officials, boarding and rooming services for black miners

were the most common forms of monetary employment for black women. When the widow Lanie Wright moved to Logan county, she soon moved to Beardsfork, Fayette county, where she operated a boarding house, which she also supplemented with work in private households. Boarding house work was exceedingly low paid labor, requiring such supplementary efforts. For example, Mary Jane Spann received only $14.00 per month for her services, which included cooking, washing, and ironing for five to six boarders.[24]

Despite hardships, however, some women achieved extradordinary results from their boarding activities. When her husband lost a leg in a mining accident during the 1920s, Mary Davis rented an eight room boarding house, where the family of 16, nine boys and seven girls, resided. Mary conducted a boarding house restaurant, serving black miners in the area. To supplement her restaurant activities, the family purchased a mule and cultivated a relatively large hillside plot, located behind the establishment. In addition to a variety of vegetable crops, the family raised and maintained several hogs, chickens, and cows. "We were pretty fortunate," her son later recalled, "and helped a lot of people."[25]

Some black women transformed their gardening and boarding activities into veritable business enterprises. They sometimes relied not only upon West Virginia land, but

upon land and relatives further South. During the early war years, for example, Mrs. F. W. Watts and her sister travelled from Williamson, Logan county to Blacksburg, South Carolina, where they planned "gardening and chicken raising for the great and growing demand for such things in their store in Williamson." In Giatto, Mercer county, "Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Tatum maintained "a fine garden and made milk and butter enough almost to supply the town." In the same town, Mr. and Mrs. Bud Eskridge could "be found at their usual post of duty -- in their boarding house, selling groceries, soft drinks, etc."[26]

Black men, women, and children, the foregoing evidence suggests, were inextricably involved in the larger proletarianization process. As in the prewar years, through their Southern kin and friendship networks, black coal miners played a crucial role in organizing their own migration to the region; facilitating their own entrance into the industrial labor force; and to a substantial degree shaping their own experiences under the onslaught of industrial capitalism. Yet, their socioeconomic footing remained volatile, as reflected in the significant economic contributions of black women during hard times.

Moreover, as the bituminous coal industry entered the postwar era, racial and ethnic competition intensified. In their persistent efforts to move up in the job hierarchy,

blacks faced increasing racial and caste barriers, erected by discriminatory employers, workers, and the state. Not only as skilled workers and bosses, but also as manual coal loaders, they confronted a rising pattern of economic discrimination. Patterns of class, caste, and race in the work place; the energetic responses of black miners; and the growing alliance between black workers and black elites are explored elsewhere.

NOTES

1. West Virginia Department of Mines, Annual Reports, 1909, 1910 (Charleston, WVA; U. S. Census Office, Report on Pop. of U. S. (Washington, 1913), p. 435; Bureau of the Census, Pop., 1910, Vol. 3 (Washington, 1913), pp. 1032-1041.

2. Joe W. Trotter, Coal, Class, and Color: Blacks in Southern West Virginia, 1915-32 (forthcoming, University of Illinois Press), ch. 1.

3. Ibid.

4. West Virginia Department of Mines, Annual Reports, 1910-1930 (Charleston, WVA); Phil Conley, History of the West Virginia Coal Industry (Charleston, WVA: Education Foundation, 1960); W. P. Tams, The Smokeless Coal Fields of West Virginia: A Brief History (1963; rept. Morgantown, WVA: West Virginia University Press, 1983); Ronald D. Eller, Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers: Industrialization of the Appalachian South, 1880-1930 (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1982), pp. 153-60; Ronald L. Lewis, Black Coal Miners in America: Race, Class, and Community Conflict, 1780-1980 (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 1987), chs. 7 and 8;

David Corbin, Life, Work, and Rebellion in the Coal Fields: The Southern West Virginia Miners, 1880-1922 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981), ch. 1; Kenneth R. Baily, "A Judicious Mixture: Negroes and Immigrants in the West Virginia Mines, 1880-1917," West Virginia History, 2 (Jan. 1973): 151-53; Keith Dix, Work Relations in the Coal Industry: The Handloading Era, 1880-1930 (Morgantown, WVA: West Virginia University, Institute for Labor Studies, 1977), pp. 20-29; Keith Dix, What's A Coal Miner To Do?: The Mechanization of Coal Mining and its Impact on Coal Miners (forthcoming, University of Pittsburgh Press); Price V. Fishback, "Employment Conditions in the Coal Industry, 1900-1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1983), pp. 44-51; Darold T. Barnum, The Negro in the Bituminous Coal Mining Industry (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970), pp. 7-8.

5. Trotter, Coal, Class, and Color, ch. 3.

6. Interviews with Thorton Wright, 27 July 1983; Watt B. Teal, 27 July 1983; Lester and Ellen Phillips, 20 July 1983; and Roy Todd, 18 July 1983; Thelma O. Trotter, 1 Aug. 1983; and conversation with Solomon Woodson, Nov. 9, 1985. See also Reginald Millner, "Conversations with the Ole Man: The Life and Times of a Black Appalachian

Coal Miner," Goldenseal, 5 (Jan. - Mar. 1979): 58-64; Tim R. Massey, "I Didn't Think I'd Live to See 1950: Looking Back with Columbus Avery," Goldenseal, 8 (Spring 1982): 32-40; Eller, Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers, pp. 153-98; Corbin, Life, Work, and Rebellion, chs. 7, 8 and 9; Fishback, "Employment Conditions," pp. 72-82, 116-20;

7. Robert N. Bell, U. S. Attorney, Northern District of Alabama, to U.S. Attorney General, 25 Oct. 1916; Alexander D. Pitts, U. S. Attorney, Southern District of Alabama, to Samuel J. Graham, Assistant Attorney General, 27 Oct. 1916, both in Department of Justice, Record Group No. 60, Straight Numerical File No. 182363 (Washington, National Archives).

8. Florette Henri, Black Migration: Movement North, 1900-1920 (Garden City: Anchor Press Doubleday, 1975), pp. 132-73; Laing, "The Negro Miner," ch. 4; Eller, Miners, Millhands, and Mountaineers, pp. 168-72; Corbin, Life, Work, and Rebellion, pp. 61-63; interview with Roy Todd, 18 July 1983.

9. W. L. McMillan, Omar, W.Va., to R. L. Thorton, Three Notch, Ala., 2 Nov. 1916, in Record Group No. 60, Department of Justice, Straight Numerical File No. 182363; "Migration Study Negro Migrants, Letters Fr. (Typescript), 1916-18," in Series 6 Box 86, National

Urban League Papers (Washington, Library of Congress); West Virginia Bureau of Negro Welfare and Statistics (BNWS), Biennial Reports (Charleston, WVA), 1921-22 and 1925-26, respectively, p. 5 and p. 8.

10. Conditions in the Coal Fields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio (Washington, 1928); for excerpts of the committee hearings, see United Mine Workers Journal (UMWJ), 1 Mar. 1928; "Testimony of J. H. Reed," West Virginia Coal Fields (Washington, 1921), pp. 479-482. During World War I, the West Virginia legislature enacted a law to "prevent idleness and vagrancy . . . during the war and for six months thereafter." Failure to work as prescribed could result in arrests and sentences to work for the county or city for six months. For documentation on the role of the state in coercive labor activities, see "Idlers Between Ages of Eighteen and Sixty will be Forced to Work," McDowell Recorder, 25 May 1917; T. Edward Hill, "Loafers and Jonahs," McDowell Times, 25 May 1917; "Dig Coal or Dig Trenches is the Word to the Miner," Raleigh Register, 12 July 1917.

11. Conditions in the Coal Fields of Pennsylvania, West Virginia, and Ohio (Washington, 1928); for excerpts of the committee hearings, see UMWJ, 1 Mar. 1928; "Testimony of J. H. Reed," West Virginia Coal Fields

(Washington, 1921), pp. 479-482.

12. Interviews with Salem Wooten, 25 July 1983.

13. Pitts to Graham, 27 Oct. 1916; Bell to U. S. Attorney General, 25 Oct. 1916, in Record Group No. 60, Department of Justice, Straight Numerical File No. 182363.

14. Interviews with Roy Todd, 18 July 1983 and Watt B. Teal, 27 July 1983; Laing, "The Negro Miner," ch. 4.

15. Interviews with Henry and Ellen Phillips, 20 July 1983 and Andrew Campbell, 19 July 1983; Bell to U. S. Attorney, 25 Oct. 1916; Pitts to Graham, 27 Oct. 1916, both in Department of Justice, Record Group No. 60, Straight Numerical File No. 182363; "Industrial Relations," BNWS, Biennial Report, 1923-24, pp. 22-23; "Adams-Russel," 14 July 1916 and "Gannaway-Patterson," 22 Dec. 1916, both in McDowell Times; The New River Company Employes' Magazine, 2, No. 3 (Nov. 1924): 9-10.

16. Interviews with William M. Beasley, 26 July 1983 and Pink Henderson, 15 July 1983; Thomas D. Samford, U. S. Attorney, Middle District of Alabama, to U. S. Attorney General, 2 Nov. 1916 and Samford to U. S. Attorney General, 21 Oct. 1916, in Department of Justice Record Group, No. 60, Straight Numerical File No. 182363.

17. See interview with Thornton Wright, 27 July 1983.

18. R. Lawrence, interview with Eliza Broadnax, "'Make a Way Out of Nothing': One Black Woman's Trip from North Carolina to the McDowell County Coalfields," Goldenseal, 5, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec. 1979): 27-31.

19. Involving a web of legal entanglements and debts, some blacks found it more difficult than other to escape Southern sharecropping arrangements. Thus, for many migrants, white resistance necessitated a great deal of forethought, planning, and even secrecy. In such cases their network of kin and friends served them well. See, for example, Jasper Boykins to U. S. Attorney General, 16 Oct. 1916, and Pitts to Graham, 27 Oct. 1916, Department of Justice Record Group No. 60, Straight Numerical File No. 182363.

20. Trotter, Coal, Class, and Color, ch. 3.

21. BNWS, Biennial Reports, 1921-22, pp. 57-58 and 1927-28, pp. 17-19; Trotter, Coal, Class, and Color, ch. 3.

22. Interviews with Lawrence Boling, 18 July 1983; Andrew Campbell, 19 July 1983; William M. Beasley, 26 July 1983; and Charlest T. Harris, 18 July 1983; "Annual Garden Inspection at Gary Plants," 17 July 1925 and 23 July 1925; "Annual Inspection of Yards and Gardens:

Consolidation Coal Company," 27 July 1925, all in Welch Daily News; Cooperative Extension Service, Agriculture and Home Economics, Annual Reports, 1921-32 (West Virginia University, Federal Extension Service), especially "Negro Work" and "Extension Work with Negroes"; "The Annual Garden and Yard Context Complete Success," The New River Company Employes' Magazine, 3, No. 1 (Sept. 1925): 3-4 and vol. 2, No. 2 (Oct. 1924): 8-9; "55 Individual Awards Made Today in Yard and Garden Contests," McDowell Recorder, 31 July 1929; the Peters Sisters, War Poems (Beckley, WVA, 1919), p. 7.

23. "Occupations," BNWS, Biennial Report, 1923-24, pp. 25-28; interview with Walter and Margaret Moorman, 14 July 1983.

24. Bureau of the Census, Fifteenth Census of the U. S., 1930: Population, Vol. 6, Families (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1933), p. 1428; Women's Bureau, U. S. Department of Labor, Home Environment and Employment Opportunities of Women in Coal Mine Workers Families (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1925), p. 47; interviews with Thornton Wright, 27 July 1983 and Andrew Campbell, 19 July 1983.

25. Interview with Leonard Davis, 28 July 1983.

26. "Goes South on Vacation," 5 Mar. 1915 and "Giatto

Rapidly Progressing," 29 May 1915; obituaries, 1915-1918, especially 28 Jan. 1916 and 13 Aug. 1915, all in McDowell Times.